III.—Contributions to the History of Mithila.

By K. P. Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-law.

§ 1. King Nanyadeva of Mithila and an Inscription of his Time (with plate).

Nanyadeva.

Nānyadeva is the founder of the famous Kārṇāta dynasty of Mithilā. To modern writers it is known as the Simraon dynasty after their capital at Simraongaḍh in Champaran. The official name of the dynasty, however, as evidenced by contemporary records was Kārṇāṭa[1] after the place of their origin.[2] Mithilā flourished under the Kārṇāṭas for two centuries and a quarter until it became a province of the Delhi Empire. Mithilā became the eastern centre of Hindu philosophy, law and literature under the dynasty. It was the last Hindu kingdom in the Gangetic valley, to end in 1324 A.D.

New states.

Nānyadeva lived in an era of kingdom-building. The Emperor Karṇa, the Hindu Napoleon of the eleventh century, abdicated and his son Yaśaḥ-Karṇa came on the Chedi throne in 1073 A.D[3]. Since Gāṅgeyadeva the Chedi sovereigns from Tripuri (near Jabalpore in the Central Provinces) had ruled over Mithilā for about a century. The Pālas had an undivided rule over Bengal and Bihar (excluding Mithilā). The Chedi empire had Benares as the favourite second capital and included probably Allahabad. Within two decades of Karna's abdication we find four states springing up into being—the

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[1] Ministers who served under the dynasty (e.g. Chaṇḍesvara in his Kṛitya R.,) a dramatist of the Court (J.A.S.B. 1915, 411), Royal inscriptions of Nepal (I.A., 1880, 188) all refer to the dynasty by that name. See also J.A.S.B., 1915, 408.

[2] See below.

[3] E. I., XII. 206 (Khairha plate ed. by R. B Hira Lal).

Gaṅga kingdom of Orissa under Choḍa-Gaṅga, the Sena kingdom in Bengal under Vijaya Sena (a Kārṇāta), the Gāhaḍavāla kingdom of Kanauj-Benares under Srī-Chandra-deva Gāhaḍavāla and the kingdom of Mithilā under Nānyadeva (a Kārṇāta). The last one was a tiny thing, hemmed in between four states—Nepal, Bengal, the Pāla kingdom of Southern Bihar, and Kanauj-Kāśī, and threatend by the old sovereign of Mithilā the Chedi king of Tripuri whose dominions reached right up to south-west Bihar and Benares. Yet Nānyadeva successfully maintained his position and the individuality of Mithilā. He must have done so mostly by dint of his diplomacy; yet at times he had to fight and he rose equal to the occasion. Yaśaḥ-Karṇa, the son and successor of Karṇa, a good soldier, inspite of the Gāhaḍavāla barrier of Benares reached Champaran and is said to have devastated it according to an inscription of his family.[1] He would have devastated Champaran only when it had ceased to be part of his own kingdom, when it had already passed to Nānyadeva. The use of the term "devastated" means that he could not conquer Champaran back and the attempt was only a raid. And it was in Champaran that Nānyadeva had established the seat of the Mithilā State. The Sena kingdom though presided over by a Kārṇāta was not friendly to Nānya, for Vijaya Sena waged war against him and his Deopara inscription claims to have defeated "Nānya" who considered himself a "*hero*" (E. I., I. 309: Śūraṃ-manya). In any case the result was not such as to mean subordination. Nānya crushed the northern neighbour—he conquered Nepal. He built a very expensive capital at Simraon and fortified it in a remarkable manner[2] just below the Nepal Hills.

Personality of Nanya.

The personality of Nānyadeva having impressed me, I have been wondering at our not having discovered any contemporary

[1] E. I., II. 11 (Bheraghat isc. of Albaṇadevī).

[2] Cunningham, A.S.R. XVI. 3; O'Malley, p. 173. It is presumed that founder would have planned the extraordinary fortifications (see below § 5 on Simaraon).

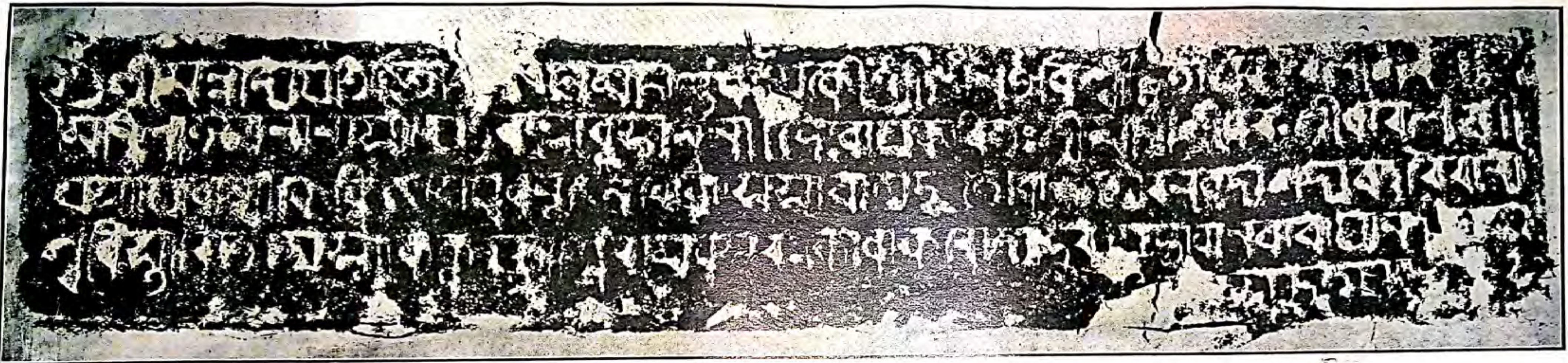
record of this able prince. I had instructed the Pandit of the Society carrying on the search for manuscripts in Mithilā to inform me if he heard of any inscription in the district of Darbhanga or Muzaffarpur. Although I have always held that we should look for such records in the unexplored ruins of the fortress and town of Simraon, yet it is reasonable to hope that Mithilā proper may also give us some materials. That hope has been justified in this instance. The Pandit reported an inscription at Andharā-Thāṛhi, a village in the Madhubani subdivision of Darbhanga, twelve miles from the railway station Jhanjharpur. I arranged to depute a man from the Patna Museum through the courtesy of the Curator, and obtained the impression which has been reproduced here, both obverse and reverse, original size. The inscription is on a pedestal having only a remnant of the feet of the original statue in black stone. It is placed in a hut amongst other broken images. The hut stands on the ruins of the original stone temple. There is a filled-up tank in front of the ruins. The stone is the usual black material worked upon by the sculptors of the Pāla period. The same stone lined the tank in front. The place is known at present as the "Kamalāditya temple." Remains of an old town are believed to be represented by the mounds near about the temple remains. The Patna Museum ought to acquire the relic.

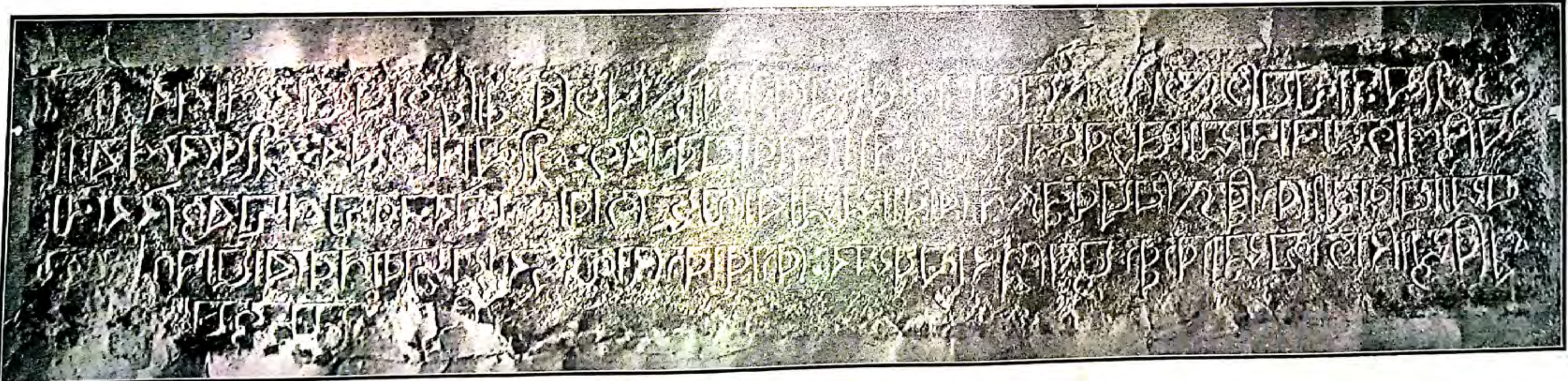
Discovery of the Inscription.

The inscription was inscribed on the pedestal of an image of Vishṇu designated here as *Śrīdhara* established by Ś r ī d h a r a the M a n t r i n of King Nānya. Śrīdhara the Minister was a Kāyastha by caste according to the tradition still current in Mithilā and recorded by Mr. O'Malley.[1] According to the local tradition Śrīdhara was the Prime Minister of Gaṅga-deva the next king.[1] Probably he served under both Nānya and his

A Record of Sridhara the minister.

[1] District Gazetteer of Darbhanga (1907), p. 16—writing about Ganga-deva the son and successor of Nanya-deva, Mr. O'Malley says :—"Local legend states that this king had a citadel at Laherā Rājā and that the two large tanks





J. B. O. R. S., 1923.

K. P. J.

ANDHARĀ-THĀRHÎ INSCRIPTION OF THE REIGN OF NĀNYA-DEVA.

Photo.-engraved & printed at the Offices of the Survey of India, Calcutta, 1923.

son. Evidently the minister had his home near the site of the inscription as his descendants are believed to be in a neighbouring village.

The inscription indicates that Bāṇa the poet had very probably written a work on some Vishṇuite manifestation.

The orthography may be compared with that of the Deopara inscription (ṇ, n, m) and Bhimadeva's (k, ch, bh, b) d is peculiar, s and ś retain archaic forms; y and a are precursors of later forms.

Three letters in the first line are gone off with a breakage. The fourth line is partially obliterated; the *pāda* evidently was carried down and completed in the next line in the right hand corner which is nearly unreadable. The metres of the verses and grammatical and clerical mistakes are indicated below the text in footnotes. Anusvāras have been omitted.

Śrīdhara the minister has been described as the sun for the lotus of the Kshattra-family, that is, his master's family. Evidently Nānyadeva, who as his Canarese name N a n n i y a indicates was Carnatic by origin, [1] was treated by his contemporaries as Kshattriya. N ā n y a the lord has been described as the Victor (*Jetā*), as the ocean of something (obliterated). By his fame he is said to have turned the world into a second *Kshīra-sāgara*. It seems that to introduce the god Vishṇu (Śrīdhara) this conceit is resorted to.

Historical data.

Text of the Inscriptio

(1*st line*) Om, [2] Śrīmān-Nānya-patir-jjettā . . . tna (?)
-mahārṇṇavaḥ |
Yat-kīrttyā janitaṃ viśvaṃ | dvitîya-kśhīra-sāgara [3]

Gangā Sāgr near Darbhanga railway station and another at Andhra Thārhi in the north-east of Madhubani, were excavated during his reign. At the latter place he is said to have built a fort, and the villagers of Bairiya some two miles to the east, claim to be the descendants of his Prime Minister Sridhar Kayasth."

[1] See below.

[2] Anushtup metre.

[3] Read *Sāgarh.*

(*2nd line*) Mantriṇā tasya Nānyasya | kshattra-vaṃ-śābja-bhānunā |

devoya[1] kāritaḥ śrīmān | Śrīdharaḥ Śrīdhareṇa cha |

(*3rd line*) yasyāya [2] | Vālmīker vijayi-prabandha-jaladhau (,)

Vyāsasya chātyadbhute | Vā(ṇā)dyai-ranavadya-gadya-chaturair-anyai

(*4th line*) ścha vistārite | asmākaṃ kva punar-ggirāmava-saraḥ ko vā karotyādara [3] | Yadvā bāla-vacho pya. . .

(*5th line*) . . . . . . [4]

In giving the date of the inscription I append the following note on the date and times of Nānya which I have prepared after considering available materials and which may help scholars in reviewing the political history of the period.

§ 2.—Date of Nanyadeva and his Times.

In Mithilā the date of the commencement of the reign of Nānyadeva is preserved in a memorial verse which has been given by the late Paṇḍita Chandā Jhā in his edition [5] of the Purushaparīkshā of Vidyāpati (page 19).

Date. नन्देन्दु-विन्दु-विधु-सम्मित-शाकवर्षे,

तच्छ्रावणे सितदले मुनिसिद्ध-तिथ्याम् ।

स्वाती-शनैश्चरद्युते करि-वैरिलग्ने,

तन्नान्यदेवनृपतिर्विधीत वास्तुम् ॥

that is, "in the Śāka year 1019 (= 1097 A. D.) on Saturday the 7th of Śrāvaṇa Sudi,

[1] Read *devoyam.*

[2] Read *yasyāyam.* The next verse is in Sārdūlavik.

[3] Read °*ram.*

[4] Four letters two of which are readable, they give no meaning. Originally there were probably five letters in this line.

[5] Ed, Darbhanga, S. 1810.

in the Svātī Nakshtra King Nānya-deva took the land." In the Nepal Vaṃśāvalis the date has been missed owing to the reading of the first line becoming corrupt as 901 [Kirkpatrick] and 811 (a secondary misreading for 911) [Bhagawan Lal Indraji].[1] The primary mistake arose by reading from left to right instead of doing it from right to left as required in reading figures put in equivalents (*Aṅkānāṃ vāmatogatiḥ*). The result for the Nepal *Vaṃśāvalis* has been disastrous, for their dates, for periods before Nānya-deva and after him up to Harisiṃha Deva became ante-dated by centuries. Fortunately the date of Harisiṃha is correctly given by them (1324) and the period intervening is also correctly recorded, i.e. 226 (219 years assigned to the rule of the Thakuris in Nepal and 7 years of anarchy, i.e. 226) which brings us nearly to the correct date (1324=226=1098 A.D.). The period of 226 agrees with the Maithila datum of 226 for the interval between Nānya's accession and the invasion of Nepal by Harisiṃha-deva. It is evident that the date-memorial is a Maithila datum adopted by Nepal. The correct date is again recorded (*Navendu-kha-chandra-yukte S'āke*) in one Nepal document, namely the drama *Muditakuvalayāśva* composed in 1628 A.C. by Jagajjyotirmalla, king of Bhatgaon who claims to be a descendant of Harisiṃha-deva. It corresponds to the 18th July 1097, which is verified to have been a Saturday and in the Svatī Nakshatra.[2] It is supported by the Maithila datum pointed out above and the known historical facts of the time.[3]

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[1] २ इन्दुश्च सोम-वसु-सम्मित-शाकवर्षे,
तच्छ्रावणस्यधवले मुनितिथ्यघस्रात् ।
स्वातौ शनैश्चरदिने रिपुमर्दलग्ने,
श्रीनान्यदेवनृपतिर्विदधीत राज्यम् ॥
Lévi, *Le Nepal*, II. 194.

[2] Ibid., 198-99.

[3] The late Rai Bahadur Monmohan Chakravarti, *History of Mithila during the pre-Moghal Period*, J.A.S.B., 1915, 409, regarded the date as unreliable

The Carnatic origin of Nānyadeva is borne out by the name itself. *Nānya* is not a Sanskrit word but a Sanskritised form of a word of Dravidian origin. *Nanniya* in Canarese means "affectionate", "true"; a prince of Karṇāṭaka, Prince Gaṅga, is called *Nanniya Gaṅga* in an inscription of the tenth century A. C.[1] The Kārṇāṭakas appear in Eastern India about 1020 A. C. in the reign of Mahīpāla. Rājendra Chola I. invaded the North and reached the Ganges and Bengal from the South (E.I., III. 323). He could not cross the Ganges. The *Chaṇda-Kauśika* was staged before King Mahipāla and in a manuscript of the drama copied in 1331 A. C. Mahīpāla [2] is described to have defeated the Karṇāṭakas. Some of the Karṇaṭakas settled down in Bengal. They appear in the soldiery of Nārāyaṇa-Pāla three reigns after Dharma-Pāla.[3] Another Karṇāṭaka family out of which arose the Senas of Bengal, the contemporary of the Karṇāṭaka dynasty of Mithilā had been living in Rādhā for over two generations before Vijaya-Sena and therefore Nānya.[4] The Kārṇaṭa settler out of whom the Simraon dynasty arose was either a remnant of the Rājendra Chola's army as Mr. R. D. Banerji thinks (P.B. page 99) or more likely a remnant of the Kārṇāta allies of Karṇa the Chedi king, son of Gāṅgeya-deva and sovereign of Mithilā who overran nearly the whole of India about 1040—60 A.C.

Origin of Nanya.

The Kārṇāṭas according to the Nagpur praśasti of Udayāditya of Mālava had allied themselves with Karṇa and with

because it was traditional and because there was another traditional date. The right course was to try to find out which of the two was correct, not to reject both and give an approximate date fluctuating within a century or half which does not leave us wiser. We should not be fanatics against tradition. A similar method is employed by Mr. Pargiter in considering the exact date given by the Purāṇas for the Mahābhārata War. He rejects them all because they do not agree with each other and because they do not answer his averages of reigns. (*Historical Tradition in the Puranas*).

[1] Sylvain Lévi, *Nepal*, II. 201 ; E. I., III. 183.

[2] Mahamahopādhyāya Haraprasada Shastri, J.A.S.B., LXII., 1893, p. 250 ; R. D. Banerji, *The Pālas of Bengal*, p. 73.

[3] Bhagalpur Plate, I.A., XV. 306.

[4] P. B. 99.

him overran Mālava like a sea.[1] Mithilā had already belonged to the Chedi sovereign, for Karṇa's father Gāṅgeyadeva (the Vikramâditya) is described as ruling over Tīrabhutti (Tirhut) in a manuscript dated 1076 Vikrama=1019 A.C.[2] It seems that the Kārṇāṭa family of Nānya probably came in Mithilā in train of Karṇa's movements.

His times.

Vijaya-Sena, a Kārṇāṭa, founded his family in Bengal about 1080 A.C. This event seems to have given momentum to the Karṇaṭāka of Tirhut. In or about 1097 A.C. Nānyadeva established his rule over Mithilā and shortly after also over Nepal. This was a time, as observed above, of the rise of new dynasties. A contemporary of Nānyadeva and Vijaya-Sena, *Chandradeva Gāhaḍavāla* had just taken the ancient capital of *Kanauj* (cir. 1090)[3] and carved out a kingdom destined to be the first power in the near future. The dominating power, the Kalachuri of Chedi, had been broken. The great conqueror Karṇa retired from the political stage in 1073 after having been assailed in return by every kingdom and defeated.[4] Even the Pāla king of Bengal (Vigraha Pāla III) whose power had been on the decline defeated him (cir. 1060)[5] and married his daughter. We may take it that the Chedi power over outlying provinces was weakened about 1073. As expressely stated in the Basahi grant,[6] it was after the death of Karṇa that Chandradeva acquired "the empire of Kanauj." On epigraphic evidence Delhi, Benares and Ajodhyā formed part of the Kanauj kingdom in (probably also before) 1097 under Chandradeva[7] who died after being in Benares in 1097.[8] The time that seems to have

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[1] E. I., Vol. II, 185 (P.B., p. 76) येनोद्धृत्य महार्णवोपम-मिलत्कर्णा-कर्णं प्रभुं********भुवांमिमां

[2] Bendall, J.A.S.B., 1903, 18. See below.

[3] *Madana-pāladeva*, his son, gives a document of title to a Brahmin at Benares for land granted by his father Chandradeva in 1097. I.A. XVIII. 11.

[4] E. I. XII. 206; P. B., 79, 80.

[5] P.B., 79, 80.

[6] I. A. XIV. 101—4.

[7] I. A. XVIII. 11.

[8] The grant made in that year by the king had to be evidenced by a document sealed by his son. I. A, XVIII. II.

become ripe for a new ruler in Tirhut was thus after 1073 A.C. and before 1097 A.C. Tirhut had been without a powerful ruler at the time of the foundation of the Gāhaḍāvala Kanauj kingdom; the Gāhaḍāvala march would not have stopped at Ayodhyā had a barrier not arisen in Tirhut. The opportunity had been availed of by Nānyadeva in the nick of time, i. e. in or about 1093 A.C. and the barrier was raised.

This date, which is given in a drama by a king of Nepal claiming to be a descendant of Nānyadeva and in fact an immediate successor of his dynasty in Nepal [1] and the memorial verse of Mithila, fully verified, is further strengthened by the history of Vijaya-Sena. The victories of the first Sena king recited in Deopara inscription [2] are, first, over Nānya and, next, over Gauḍa, then over Kāmarūpa and then over Kaliṅga (at that time under Choḍa-Gaṅga who had founded his kingdom *cir.* 1076 A.C. [3]) In the struggle between Vijaya-Sena and Madana the Pāla king of Gauḍa, Chandra of Kanauj helped Madana Pāla, according to Sandhyākara Nandi a contemporary historian. Chandradeva died about 1097 as seen above.[4] The war thus took place before or about 1097. Vijaya Sena's last recorded date is found on a copper plate—the 37th regnal year. And Vijaya Sena was the grandfather of Lakshmaṇa Sena who came to the throne in 1119 A.C. according to the era of his name. The date 1093 for Nānya's accession thus tested turns out to be satisfactory.

Vidyāpati says that a son of Nānyadeva took service under Jaya-Chandra of Kanauj.[5] Now the authority which gives the year 1093 for the beginning of Nānyadeva's

[1] Pischel, Katalog (Berlin), II. p. 8.; Lévi, *Nepal*, II. 198, 199.

[2] V. Smith, E. I. I., 1908, 305.

[3] Ibid., 428.

[4] See also E. I., II. 360. His grandson Govinda-Chandra-deva is described as the son of the reigning king in 1104.

[5] Purusha-parikhsā, I. 3.

reign gives him a total reign-period of fifty years,[1] that is, up to 1143 A.C. Jaya-Chandra's accession was in 1170[2] and it is quite possible for a son of Nānyadeva to be a contemporary of Jaya-Chandra.[3]

Nānyadeva saw the struggle between Govindachandradeva (1114-54) the grandson of Chandradeva of Kanauj = Benares and Lakhmaṇa Sena (1119) the grandson of Vijaya Sena of Bengal. The buffer state of the Pālas between the Gāhaḍavāla and the Sena kingdoms having disappeared, the Gāhaḍavāla, an old ally of the Pāla family, came face to face with the rising power of the Senas. Lakshmaṇa planted his "towers of victory" at Allahabad i. e. right in the kingdom of Govindachandra, but Govindachandra recovered and annexed Patna in or before 1126 A.C.[4] when he was making grants of land at Maner, and even the territory up to Monghyr (1146 A.C.)[5]

Either Nānyadeva towards the close of his reign or more probably his successor (Gaṅgadeva) came under the influence of Govindachandra or his successor, very likely of Govindachandra himself. This is indicated by two facts: one is that the law book Kalpataru prepared by the foreign minister of Govindachandra at his command[6] became the ruling authority in Mithilā under the dynasty of Nānyadeva,[7] and the second is the service of Malladeva a son of Nānyadeva in the army of Jayachandra Gāhaḍavāla. Add to these the fact of dominion over Monghyr in Govindachandra's reign. The struggle

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[1] Nepal Vaṃśāvalis; Lévi *Nepal*, II. 220, according to another authority, Hamilton, 36 (*Nepal*, 45). Without such a long reign the period between him and his fifth or sixth descendant Harisiṃha (the master of Chaṇḍeśvara) whose date we know (1324 A.C.) cannot be easily accounted for.

[2] E. I., II. 121.

[3] Mr. M. M. Chakravarti's view on the date of Nānyadeva partially based on this datum is not tenable. J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 409. The young age 16 of the Kārṇāta prince in Vidyâpati is obviously an exaggeration of the storyteller to emphasise the boy's valour in battle.

[4] J.A.S.B., 1896, I. 11; J.B.O.R.S. II. 441. [5] E. I. 7, 98.

[6] MS. consulted; see also *Catalogus Catalogorum*, I. 538.

[7] For the position of the *Kalpataru*, see Chaṇḍeśvara, VR, last page; J.A.S.B., 1915, p. 357.

for Western Bihar between the Sena and Gāhaḍavāla houses went on. Bodha Gayā is finally seen under the influence of the Senas before the Muhammadan conquest. In 1194 A.D. the era of Lakshmaṇa Sena was used there.[1] Similarly before the fall of Jayachandra (1193) Mithilā after Nānyadeva also must have come under the Sena influence when the Lakshmaṇa Sena era became there the national reckoning.

(To be continued.)

[1] Jānibigha inscription, J.B.O.R.S. IV. 273.

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